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A FEW days before his departure from the United States after a seven week visit, General Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces and leader of the 63-day Warsaw Uprising in 1944, placed a wreath at the statue of King Jagiello in New York's Central Park.

On July 15 the people of Poland observe the 536th anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald, when the combined might of the Polish and Lithuanian Armies under the command of Wladyslaw Jagiello, King of Poland, routed the Order of the Teutonic Knights and relieved Europe of the Germanic peril for many years.

The date of the Battle of Grunwald will live forever in Polish history. August 1, 1944 is another date that has taken its place in the calendar of Polish patriotism and heroism, marking as it

does the start of the superhuman struggle of the defenseless Polish capital against the mechanized fury of the Germans in the course of which a quarter of a million men, women and children lost their lives and a beautiful city ceased to exist.

To future generations General Bor will symbolize that steadfastness of purpose, love of freedom and indomitable courage that have characterized Poland through the ages. King Jagiello and General Bor both led resistance movements against the Germans. The only difference is that King Jagiello received praise for his efforts while General Bor and his gallant compatriots were first betrayed by their Russian ally and then calumniated for their pains. General Bor's cordial reception in the United States has demonstrated that American public opinion had not been taken in by clumsy propaganda, but has reserved for General Bor the welcome and tribute he has earned.

"POLAND WILL YET BE FREE AND INDEPENDENT"

Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Reception in Honor of General Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski at Executive Chamber, Albany, N. Y.

ALTHOUGH this is your first visit to our State, you are a well known and truly respected guest. As I said in my greetings to you at the 165th Regiment Armory in New York on May 26th, the people of this State as well as all Americans, followed closely and experienced with you, the dramatic occurrences of the Warsaw Uprising. We saw then, and events which took place since have confirmed our belief, that you and those who served under your command were not only true and brave soldiers but also symbols of patriotic devotion to your nation and to the cause of liberty. We saw the voluntary sacrifices of an entire army—a great city—thousands of lives, for the cause of freedom—freedom which is indivisible in all the world.

Two elements make up this great ideal. Freedom which is the root of all creation—and the spirit of sacrifice without which there can be no creative cooperation. This is as true of groups of people and nations as it is of individuals.

The men and women of Poland long ago identified their fight for freedom with the freedom and justice of the entire world. More than 100 years ago, your forefathers carried on their fighting banners, the words, "For Your Freedom and Ours,"—placing the word "yours" before the word "ours." Some realists considered this an expression of romantic exaltation. But history has proven this expression to be a truth now recognized by all far-sighted statesmen. Today, the world is rapidly learning that the freedom of every individual nation is closely joined with the freedom of all nations. No one has yet found a wall strong enough to hide and isolate freedom, prosperity and happiness around or within one nation alone.

In 1939, your nation, sir, did not hesitate to undertake the defense of freedom against tyranny alone against the strongest concentration of military might in the world. Your people acted honorably and nobly. By sacrificing themselves, the people of Poland not only provided time for their allies to mobilize but earned the right to their own rebirth as a free and independent nation.

Had your people in 1939 decided to follow a policy of short-sighted and narrow-minded protection of their own immediate selfish interest (which some people today call "realism") they might have avoided the great sacrifices and losses they sustained during this war. But, — had the Polish people done so, they would not today be so widely recognized for their true greatness and their love of liberty. The claim of the people of Poland to greatness lies in their uncompromising devotion to the ideals of freedom and justice. Greatness knows no compromise with evil. By your sufferings you have earned the respect of the world.

You too, General Bor-Komorowski, your soldiers and the people of Warsaw had a choice of two roads to follow in 1944. One which you knew would lead to the sacrifice of your lives and the destruction of your property for the sake of your ideals. The other which would have saved your lives and property but sacrificed your ideals. You chose the first road. You followed the tradition of Kosciuszko and Pulaski. You chose to fight, to sacrifice for the great ideals of mankind.

Your heroic sacrifices have not yet brought your beloved country the freedom and independence she deserves. I believe, —and nothing will weaken this conviction, — that the heroism of your people and their sacrifices for the cause of freedom have earned for them such moral support and sympathy among all just people in this world, — that your beloved Poland, sir,

will yet be free and independent and occupy the place which awaits her among the nations of the world.

We are looking for keys to a durable and just peace, to world security and prosperity. One of these which we must find, — which we cannot overlook, — which we must use if we are to secure world peace, — is a free Poland.

Today, although the carnage of war is over, the spirits of Poland's heroic dead continue to fight beside the living to achieve the final triumph of freedom. Win this battle for freedom and justice they will, — if the good people of the world are guided by the same spirit of unselfish cooperation and sacrifice which motivated the people of Poland. Only this triumph of idealism and unselfishness will insure a better tomorrow for all humanity.

Your people, General Bor-Komorowski and your nation offered themselves as a sacrifice on the altar of freedom.

As you, your army and your countrymen wend their painful, tedious and halting journey to a free and independent Poland, I hope this thought will ever be with you, — that the people of the State of New York fervently pray that God may bless you all and bring about soon a free and independent Poland.

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THE POLISH PROBLEM

by PROFESSOR ADAM PRAGIER

Professor Pragier is a prominent Polish Socialist with a long record of patriotic, scholarly and political activity. Born in 1886, he studied at the Universities of Cracow and Zurich. He held the chair of Economics at the Warsaw Free College and wrote books and pamphlets on economic and social questions. After World War I, during which he fought for his country's independence, he served several terms in the Polish Parliament as a Socialist, being on the Executive Committee of his party.

Making his escape from Poland in 1939, he was appointed to the Polish National Council and in 1944 became Minister of Information in the Arciszewski Government. Professor Pragier is the author of Polish Peace Aims, which has been translated into several foreign languages.

The following views are excerpts from The Polish Problem, a 32 page pamphlet published by the Polish Press Agency in Edinburgh, in which W. Maliniak asked Professor Pragier seven questions and set down the replies he received:

WE, Polish Socialists, are in a truly difficult situation when faced with the realities of Russia. We are most anxious to avoid even the semblance of becoming partners to any anti-Russian propaganda or agitation. But the Soviet régime, with all its peculiarities can be regarded as an internal problem for Russia only if the Russian State does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. When such Russian interference begins (as is the case now in Poland and other countries adjoining the Soviet Union) it becomes imperative to explain the reasons why this interference is resented and opposed.

The reason for our opposition is to be found in the fundamental difference between our and Soviet constitutional and social concepts. We believe that economic, social and cultural progress must be based on respect for individual rights, and must rest free from police supervision and administrative pressure. The Bolshevik Party believes that all progress must be guided and directed by the omnipotent state. We regard democracy as an integral part of the rule of the will of the people, freely expressed. The Bolsheviks reject such a conception of democracy, and their own term of "Soviet democracy" covers only the will and the interests of the ruling party. For us Socialism means not only a planned social economy but also a democratic régime based on the will of the people. In our opinion the attitude of the Bolshevik Party towards democracy, socialism and progress, inevitably invites reaction. The Bolsheviks regard our democracy, on the Western Europe pattern, as another form of Fascism simply because they have become used to denounce under that name every political or social phenomenon which does not meet with their approval. These differences in respect of the very meaning of the term "democracy" come to the fore with peculiar blatancy in central-eastern Europe when every vestige of western European democracy is ruthlessly stamped out by the Soviet occupation authorities who supersede them by their own system of government.

* * *

With regard to Poland's frontier, it should be recalled that the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line, forcibly imposed upon Poland, was never accepted nor recognized by her. Our people were, and are, firmly opposed to it not only because it violates our rights and feelings, but also because we are steadfast in our determination to uphold those fundamental concepts of international life which, in this very case, were completely ignored.

The Soviet Government occupied Eastern Poland in 1939, taking advantage of a situation which the whole world rightly viewed as a calamitous menace to the whole of mankind. All that was done then must be undone. Russia attempted—and is still attempting—to justify her 1939 aggression and conquests of Polish lands

as a revindication of the rights of the Ukrainians, White Ruthenians and Lithuanians, though none of these nations ever expressed the desire to join the Soviet Union, nor consented to the obliteration of its own nationality. The same aggressive policy is also pursued by Russia with respect to the Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, though they are alien both in race and religion to the nations who constitute the Soviet Union.

Actually, when she drew the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line, Russia was not in the least anxious to enable Ukrainians or White Ruthenians to live in a "single national state," but her purpose was that the "Ukrainian Question" and the "White Ruthenian Question" (and also the problem of the Baltic States) should cease to be an international problem and simply become an "internal Russian Question." Now there is no doubt that this change will not help the national existence of these nations, nor assist their cultural and spiritual progress.

With regard to the question of Poland's western frontier, at least in the form in which it is now presented by the Warsaw Government (which in this obviously follows the dictates of Moscow) we must first oppose the very principle which is to underlie the redrawing of that frontier. The Soviet Government, with the Warsaw Government obediently trotting in its footsteps, claims that Poland is to be given a large accretion of territory in the west as compensation for the loss of Eastern Poland to Russia.

Poland can never agree to such a formula.

Of all the countries who were at war with Germany, Poland suffered most; while her resistance and her contribution to the allied war effort were so great that she is entitled to compensation from Germany in any case, and her direct claims can never be justified by considerations which have no direct bearing on German-Polish relations.

Thus Poland is justly entitled to claim some German frontier provinces which were inhabited for centuries by Poles, and which were used by the Germans as springboards for attacks not merely against Poland, but on the whole world. This is true, in particular, of East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia. So far, these Polish claims have not been met. Our eastern frontier has been definitely fixed, while the question of our western frontier is still open, and thus it is still an open field for diplomatic intrigues, power-politics and the playing of one country against another. This is true of East Prussia, where only the seizure of the northern half, excluding Königsberg, has been sanctioned by the Powers at Potsdam. This is true of the whole Polish-German frontier. This is true even of the Polish-Czech frontier, where the problem of

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THE POLISH PROBLEM

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the disputed part of Teschen Silesia is still hanging fire. The formulation of Polish claims in the west by the Warsaw régime shows Poland as an imperialist power to the west, and, at the same time, offers no guarantee that our just claims will be satisfied.

The dangers arising from that situation are made even more formidable by the mass expulsion of the Germans from the borderland. Russia purposely throws the onus of the responsibility for these deportations on the Poles, though it is well known that in the so-called western Polish territories the administration is not even outwardly Polish; it is exclusively in the hands of the Russian military commanders. These expulsions are carried out by the Russians, their extent and scope increase or decrease according to temporary shifts in Russian policy, while the Poles are merely the helpless witnesses—or at the most the passive tools—of the policy of the Kremlin.

The German nation ought to pay reparations and make territorial sacrifices to Poland in the full consciousness that this is a just retribution for the wrongs it has inflicted on Poland. This is the only principle on which reparations and territorial cessions can be based. We are entitled to demand, in the name of justice and peace that Germany be punished and deprived of the possibility to embark once more upon a policy of military aggression. But it is not in our interest that Germany should believe that she pays to Poland not merely the price of her own crimes but also a compensation for the wrongs inflicted on Poland by another Power.

Without relinquishing her just rights and claims, Poland must now formulate her future attitude toward Germany and base it on unshakable and non-controversial foundations. The principle on which the Warsaw Government is now basing its claims in the west may be, sooner or later, regarded as controversial, and not only by Germany.

The Warsaw Government, acting undoubtedly under the pressure of the Kremlin, has recognized, without much ado, the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line, as the Eastern frontier of Poland, and regards the territories which Germany is to cede to Poland as compensation for the loss of the Eastern territories.

If the German policy of the Warsaw Government is examined against the background of Soviet policy, its wisdom is yet more open to doubt. Before the war, when the Nazis were already firmly in the saddle, Stalin always spoke of Germany with respect. During the war in the years 1941-5, Soviet propaganda often stressed that Nazism should not be identified with the German nation. It is also significant that during the war the Soviets attempted to play off (if only temporarily) a set of imperialistic German Junkers headed by Field Marshal von Paulus against Hitler. Simultaneously, the Russian-occupied countries bordering on Germany and having a few accounts to square with her are being constantly worked up into a state of anti-German frenzy by their puppet governments. Where is a key to this riddle?

The link which the Warsaw Government has established between its new Western frontier and the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line in the East, strengthens our suspicions that the Oder Line is not meant as the new Polish Western frontier, but rather as the limit of Russia's political predominance. The purpose of the Oder Line is to make Poland yet more dependent on Russia, to force her to become Russia's satellite without any possibility to back out.

In conclusion, we are firmly opposed to the principle of compensation which lies at the bottom of the Oder frontier, while we remain determined to support Poland's claims against Germany, territorial, political and economic.

* * *

What is happening to-day in Poland is an all-round attempt to turn her into an outpost and part and parcel of the East. The very structure of the Polish nation and the essence of its spiritual life are to be refashioned and remoulded on the Eastern pattern. This is indeed one of the most pathetic dramas of history. A nation with a great past, reared for centuries in Latin culture, is now forced to take its cue from the new Byzantium. Its fundamental concepts about life, freedom, its own mission and that of the world are now fundamentally changed and adapted to an alien and entirely different model.

The means for bringing about this change are the destruction of the existing social order and its superseding by a Soviet hierarchy of values, Polish only in its outward forms. Within the limits of the Soviet sphere of influence a new Polish-speaking Soviet nation is to be set up.

The real purpose of the changes which are now in progress is still kept dark. Instead Warsaw propaganda is busy talking about democracy, the struggle against reaction and Slav solidarity. But, actually, the policy of the Warsaw régime aims at transforming Poland into a country of small farmers, and later, a country of kolk-hoses. The standard of life in Poland is to be lowered to the Soviet level. The inarticulate subject mass of Poles is to remain passively under the watch and ward of the ruling bureaucracy, the agents of an omnipotent and uncontrolled government. Already to-day the Warsaw régime is a close copy of the Soviet model. The State is already the sole master of literature, art and science. It is the sole publisher of books, and, with few exceptions, of all periodicals.

Some ill-informed people may regard such far-reaching changes as something in the nature of a social revolution. But they would be wrong. A social revolution can be made only from below, as a result of the pressure of native social forces. The present developments in Poland are all imposed from above, and their only purpose is to adapt Poland to the tasks set for her by the occupying power.

Like the rest of all Russian-occupied Central-Eastern Europe, Poland is destined to play the part of a defensive rampart or offensive springboard of Soviet Russia in her game of power politics with the other Great Powers. One thing is absolutely essential to make all this plan work satisfactorily from a Soviet point of view: that all the nations inhabiting the "springboard area" be sufficiently indoctrinated and Sovietized to be used against the West, should the need arise. And Poland is in a mortal danger that this plan might succeed. Given sufficient time, the Soviet plan could mature, and then the population of Poland, though probably still Polish-speaking, would think and feel as Soviet people do. This also explains the strength of the resistance which Soviet plans are encountering from the common people of Poland. The Polish people instinctively feel that Poland would lose her very soul if her age-old links with the West were severed.

It is said that Russia's foreign policy was and is subordinated to the needs of the "struggle against reaction." This is a gross misstatement. Russia fought the armed

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THE RUSSIAN SAMOVAR

by PROFESSOR WACLAW LEDNICKI, *University of California*

LESKOV, the Russian O. Henry, is known as one of Russia's most brilliant writers—one of the world's best story-tellers. Unpopular during his lifetime, he is now winning greater, and greater appreciation in Russia and abroad. In his amusing, though indeed not his best short story entitled *A Russian Democrat in Poland* Leskov tells of a certain project of Russification, which had as its goal the final liquidation of the secular Russo-Polish antagonism and which originated in the brain of one of the characters in this story. That character is Ivan Fomich Sambursky, a Little Russian (Ukrainian), serving as a bureau-chief in the administration of Paskevich in Warsaw in the year 1832.⁽¹⁾ On one occasion Ivan Fomich began a fundamental colloquy in his office on the subject of Russo-Polish relations and the necessity that those relations be put in order.

"Under every czar," Sambursky began, "we wage battles with the Poles, but the greatest of them is the one that has just now taken place; it has cost two hundred millions in money, and in human victims scores of thousands. I am appalled. After such a victory how many widows, orphans, and aged are left now, with none to feed them? We shall have to give an accounting for that before the Lord, but at the same time we cannot step out of this role of ours until we establish our fellow-believers in Lithuania and the southwestern territory."⁽²⁾ As for Poland—God bless it, but still we cannot possibly abandon our own to the tender mercies of fate."

"Sambursky, justly or unjustly, held the opinion that Poland was unnecessary to us (Russians) and that it would pose problems for Russia until the southwestern territory and Lithuania should be properly secured. Thereupon he projected his own dispositions for these border regions in the conviction that if those dispositions should be put into effect, that is to say if Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia should become wholly Russian, there would no longer need to be any talk of Poland, and there would be no point in retaining Poland for itself alone. Then she would not be able to thrust into us from the side through a population closely bound to us by a common faith—which is the faith of our people and of the Russian gentry. She would thus cease to disturb us. As far as the role of Poland for Russia is concerned, Sambursky reduced it to zero, saying: 'We ought to wish Poland's independence, in some way make it so, and then abandon it. Then the Germans will gobble it up in an instant, and not so much as a trace of it will be left.' He even thought that Poland was unwholesome for us and that Poland was our disease . . ."

Leskov's character was convinced that Russia's most important task was to make bloodshed impossible; for the "pacification" of the Polish insurrections had not, in his opinion, led to a radical extermination of the evil. Insurrections repeat themselves . . . On the other hand, without the rampart of completely Russified, hermetically sealed border marches, the Russian empire could not be fortified against the "demoralizing" Polish influences. But how can it be brought about? "Cannon and mus-

kets, to my mind, are ineffectual, as it is essential to disaccustom the Poles once for all from their improper pretensions toward Lithuania and the southwestern region, inhabited by people who dislike Poles. What we need here is a more special implement."

"Of what nature?"

"Guess."

"I can't," retorted Lakhtin.

"Sambursky smiled and said, 'That implement is a—samovar.'"

"What?"

"Yes, samovar, samovar, Nikolay Andreevich, an ordinary Russian samovar . . ."

Sambursky's reasoning was simple and logical. On the one hand it was necessary to parcel up all the Polish "magnates'" estates confiscated in Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia and to carve out from them some twenty-five thousand farms, which might, according to his calculations, yield an annual income of five or six thousands each. On the other hand an army of deserving Russian officers should be mobilized and settled on these estates.

The gain would be a double one. Thus would the deserts of the officers be requited, and the state would profit, for, if the confiscated land should not return profits under governmental administration, the officers might pay a little something for it.

"My calculation is precise. It is just that this whole land has to be in industrious hands, namely those of the warriors who have contributed to the foundation of Russian authority here. The officers may not know much about law and history, but they do know well what the suppression of the revolt that blazed up here has cost them, and they will appreciate everything properly and in no fantastic spirit. Besides, they will be getting their just reward, and they will be grateful to the government

and become even more loyal to it. And furthermore, the treasury need not take a financial loss; it need not give the land free, for what is got for nothing is little valued. The land needs only to be judiciously removed from rentfree state management and transferred to private hands. There are ways of doing this. It will be enough to set up a bank or some sort of credit institution for the especial purpose of enabling the Russian soldier to acquire these tracts on easy terms, and our aim will be attained. And if on those twenty-five thousand parcels arise twenty-five thousand rustic homes, and before the windows on the little porches the steam comes up from twenty-five thousand samovars and neighbor rides over to neighbor with the family on troikas in Russian harness, with a Valdaian⁽³⁾ bell under

(1) This was the time of the regime of terror imposed upon Poland by Nicholas I after the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31. Field Marshal Ivan Paskevich, Count of Erivan and Prince of Warsaw, took command of the Russian army fighting against the Poles in 1831 after the defeats and death of his predecessor Diebich. After the defeat of the Polish army he was appointed Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland by Nicholas I; his rule in Poland represented a period of violent Russification.

(2) Precisely those territories of Poland which were given to Stalin at Yalta.

(3) Valdai—a provincial town in the district of Novgorod, known for its production of famous Russian bells.

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Professor Wacław Lednicki.

MICKIEWICZ AND HIS AMERICAN FRIENDS

by LEOPOLD WELLISZ

THE close relations of the greatest Polish poet with his contemporary outstanding promoters of European culture and his contribution to the treasury of this culture have long been generally known. But it has thus far not been sufficiently highlighted that since youth he was an enthusiastic admirer of America, "the land of freedom, the holy land," that in his first youthful poem he predicted that in a war in the 20th century America would save the freedom of the world and that he was bound by ties of friendship to prominent Americans.†

Although Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855) never visited America or England, he had a command of English as is evidenced by his excellent translation of Byron's *Giaour* and the Balcony Scene from *Romeo and Juliet* and by his reading and translation of philosophical works.

The first American whom the Polish poet got to know was the outstanding writer, James Fenimore Cooper. Rather aristocratic in his tastes, a democrat in his political and social convictions, Cooper fought vigorously all his life in his writings and public appearances for justice and against arbitrariness, egoism and hypocrisy. In 1828, at the age of 37, he took his entire family to Europe so as to complete his children's education and to become acquainted with the cradle of contemporary culture. It was in Rome, probably in one of the salons of which young Mickiewicz was at that time a welcome guest, that the first meeting between Cooper and Mickiewicz occurred early in 1830. The Pole was nine years Cooper's junior and already enjoyed great fame. Cooper and Mickiewicz went for long walks around Rome and in the Roman campagna. Their sympathies with the democratic movements growing in Europe and their expectations that the Napoleonic dynasty would play an outstanding role in these movements drew them together.

We do not have more detailed information about their discussions nor do we know whether there is a grain of truth in the gossip that Cooper wished to have Mickiewicz for his son-in-law and warmly invited him to come to America. But one thing is certain. Cooper's acquaintance with Mickiewicz increased the American's interest in Poland and influenced his activity in behalf of Poland after the Polish Rising of 1830 against Russia. Cooper then became, along with Lafayette a most active champion of the Polish cause. He played a leading role in the American Committee of Help for Poland, founded in Paris. He composed a long, moving appeal which was signed by more than a hundred prominent Americans residing in France, calling upon the people of the United States to render material aid and moral support to Poland in her fight for independence. He also took over the chairmanship of the Committee when his predecessor, the outstanding social leader, S. Gridley Howe, a participant in the battle for Greek independence, went to Poland to present the funds already collected to the National Government.

Cooper's activity was not limited to presiding at weekly meetings of the Committee nor to financial contributions to the Committee. He was later to support all other drives in behalf of Poland in Paris, to sponsor concerts



Margaret Fuller. Painting by Chappel.

given by Chopin and Mendelsohn for the benefit of the insurgents, and even to help Mickiewicz's enthusiastic admirer, Irish Mrs. Elizabeth Marlay, to get sketches by his friend Samuel F. B. Morse, to serve as prizes in a lottery for the victims of the fighting.

To be sure, we do not know definitely whether S. B. Morse, the gifted American inventor of the magnetic telegraph and an excellent painter, ever met Mickiewicz personally, but we do know he had the opportunity to

†Thanks to the excellent translations of Prof. G. R. Noyes, Prof. A. P. Coleman, Mrs. M. M. Coleman and their students, all the works of one of the greatest poets of mankind, Adam Mickiewicz, are now available to American readers. The chief sources for becoming acquainted with this fine poet are *Pan Tadeusz or the Last Foray in Lithuania* by G. R. Noyes, 1930. *Adam Mickiewicz in English* by A. P. Coleman and Marion Moore Coleman, 1940. *Poems by Adam Mickiewicz*, Edited by G. R. Noyes, 1944. *Mickiewicziana* by A. P. Coleman and M. M. Coleman and Associates, 1946.

do so and that he held Mickiewicz in very high regard. He writes at length in his memoirs how one day in 1830 he met in the ruins of the Roman Coliseum Prince Michał Hieronim Radziwiłł who had become separated from a large party visiting another part of the ruins with Mickiewicz, "the most celebrated poet of Poland." Morse quotes with real satisfaction what Radziwiłł said about Cooper's popularity in Poland. He mentions that later during the Polish-Russian War Radziwiłł was commander-in-chief for a month and erroneously attributes an active role in the Rising to Mickiewicz.

After the failure of the Insurrection, the American Committee disbanded in June 1832. Cooper concluded the widely circulated Committee report, written and signed by him and by Morse, with an appeal to his countrymen that was so often timely in Polish history: "We cannot refrain from urging every one of our fellow citizens to remember that when an emigrant Pole presents himself at his door, his hospitality and friendship are asked on behalf of a man, defeated more from the heartless calculations and policy of third parties than by the valor of his enemies."

Cooper's affection for Poland and his interest in Mickiewicz did not lessen with the years. In a letter dated June 3, 1850, which is preserved at the Yale University Library Mickiewicz writes about their common love of art, the one thing which Cooper, according to Mickiewicz, valued in old Europe, mentions Cooper's sympathy with Polish refugees, and informs him about the death of their mutual friend, Mrs. Elizabeth Marlay, from whom he had hitherto received news about Cooper. In conclusion, he asks when Cooper will carry out his plan of a new trip to Europe. Unfortunately, Cooper's death in 1851 ended all hope of further contacts.

Mickiewicz's friendly relations with Cooper, growing out of mutual social acquaintances and a shared love for the beauty of art and nature withstood the test of time because the two men were bound by very similar political and social views. Cooper was little interested in philosophical problems. In Mickiewicz's creative art of the 1830's patriotic ideas held complete sway. The Third Part of *The Forefathers*, *Pan Tadeusz*, the *Books of the Polish Pilgrims*—here is the most magnificent expression of love of Country and concern for its welfare. Not until ten



After a contemporary drawing

Mickiewicz addressing the population of Florence in 1848.



The home of Fenimore Cooper at Cooperstown, New York, where the famous American writer gave shelter to Polish emigrés.

years after he met Cooper did Mickiewicz turn completely to the teachings of philosophers and mystics in his quest for answers to the ever-present riddle of humanity's existence and the paths it is destined to tread.

In this most difficult period of spiritual struggle, Mickiewicz found confirmation of his ideas in the writings of a contemporary, then little known American writer, the great Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Mickiewicz was the first in France to draw attention to Emerson. In his renowned lectures on Slavic literatures at the Collège de France, he spoke about Emerson frequently between the early part of 1842 and May 1843. He regarded it as extremely important that the ideas of Emerson, that "practical philosopher, American Socrates," as he called him, a representative of "the most materialized society in the world" agreed in many basic points with the thinking of Polish philosophers who like Cieszkowski represented an extremely idealistic outlook.

Mickiewicz culled arguments in support of his own contention as to the superiority of intuition over reason

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DEATH OF A HERO*

by RENALT CAPES

When General Wladyslaw Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces, was killed in an airplane crash off Gibraltar on July 4, 1943, the Polish People suffered an irreparable loss. Three years have gone by since that tragic date, and the late Polish statesman and soldier is still missed today.

The following account of General Sikorski's death is by a well-known English writer who was Flying Control Officer at Gibraltar and was the only person who witnessed the whole of the Sikorski tragedy.

FROM dusk, which falls soon after seven o'clock during the summer in Gibraltar, until ten-thirty, the airfield is so busy, that the officers keeping watch in the Control-Tower have little time to breath, or even think overmuch. Every two minutes an aircraft lands or takes off, and the radio-sets mutter and come to life in an endless reiteration of demands and instructions. Gradually the rush of traffic dies down, and the officer of the Watch has time to wipe his forehead, smoke a cigarette and discuss the food, the heat, and the boredom of the "Rock" with his orderly, a never-ending source of entertainment. Rather wearily he turns to the "Movement Board," to see what the next few hours hold in store for him. Two Hudsons in from Marrekhash, a Dakota passing through to Ras El Ma . . . possibly some mail from England . . . A Frenchman due from Algiers, and four Catalinas taking off on a convoy job. What's the next one to be airborne . . . a Liberator carrying a V. I. P. (Very Important Personage). Whoever it is is important, for his name isn't even mentioned . . . Only in the cases of the utmost secrecy is this detail kept from the Flying-Control staff. For a while the airfield subsides into silence, the mile-long runway stretches across the old race-course, and away in a wide causeway over the waters of Alcairez Bay. Everything is lit by a weird light, for twenty searchlights shine over the whole area in an endless look-out for saboteurs.

For a few minutes the night is silent, then suddenly the stillness is broken by the roar of four mighty engines as they are started one by one. The orderly pulls himself together with a jerk. "The V. I. P. Lib' starting up, sir," he says.

Over the other side of the tarmac can be seen the great machine blowing clouds of dust from her tail . . . and creeping towards her a line of three black cars. The first pulls up close alongside, and a group of figures get out, stand together for a while talking, and then certain of them climb aboard. The other motors drop their loads, and the great aircraft absorbs them. Another pause, the noise of the engines increases as they are run-up, then over the R/T, "Aircraft calling Control . . . May I taxi out?" The voice is obviously not an English one, but Control is used to such things and takes little notice. Permission having been given, the machine turns around ponderously, and slowly makes it way to the west end of the runway . . . the furthest from the officer of the watch, for he is stationed near the point where its wheels will leave the ground. At last it reaches the take-off point, once more it turns about, and faces the east . . . apparently all is ready. In the Watch-Office the radio again comes to life, "May I take off, please?" Everything is clear, there are not even any visitors flying round the rock. It is pure routine work, and as the officer nods his head, the orderly speaks into the microphone, "Okay to take off."

Almost as if he had pressed a button the roar of the motors rises to a scream, and slowly, very slowly at first, the Liberator moves forward . . . Quickly its speed increases, and it begins to flash down the airstrip.

In the Watch-Office the officer moves over to the window and leans out. Normally he is far too busy to be able to indulge in the luxury of actually seeing aircraft airborne; but at the moment there is nothing else doing, and like all ex-pilots, he can never resist the sight of an airplane leaving the ground.

All is quite normal . . . Bellowing, the Liberator approaches, and, after a run of about 1150 yards . . . nothing unusual in that . . . her wheels leave the tarmac. Steadily she climbs to 30 feet, and at that height, levels off to gain speed . . . again in the general practice. For 50 yards or so she flies at this altitude, and the controller is just about to turn away from the window, when he suddenly notices that instead of climbing once more, she is descending in a long gradual slope. It seems impossible that anything is wrong, her engines are going at full bore without a splutter, but there's no doubt about it . . . she's going down. Absolutely automatically his hand stretches out to the alarm bell switch, even now he cannot believe that there is something the matter . . . By now the aircraft is over the sea to the east, not more than fifty yards from the shore and only a foot or two above the surface. At last he knows that an accident is going to happen, and his finger presses down the switch. The roar of the fire-tender motor starting up is suddenly drowned . . . for away at sea the machine hits the water with a ghastly and thunderous crash. Almost before the sound has died down, tender and ambulance are dashing towards the end of the runway; but there is little that they can do. In the Watch-Office, everything is moving



General Sikorski's daughter, Mrs. Zofia Lesniewska, before boarding the plane with her father for the trip that was to end in tragedy.



His last trip: General Sikorski bidding farewell at the Cairo airport.

in a well-practised order. Sick-quarters, air-sea rescue section, M. O., Commanding Officer, Duty Officer and operations are informed.

This done, for the time being there is nothing more to deal with. The officer is not allowed to leave the building . . . for someone must be in a central position to organize crash action. Once more he goes to the window. At sea there is nothing but darkness. Not a light, not a tiny wave breaking against the shore shows where the tragedy has occurred. On the other side of the runway, he notices the cars beginning to move in his direction. From where they were standing, they can have seen but little of the crash; but for all that, they know that something is wrong. In a few seconds they pull up outside the office, and the Governor, accompanied by a high-ranking R. A. F. officer enters the room. Quickly the controller explains all that he has seen, and for the first time realizes that the V. I. P. is none other than General Sikorski. A few minutes later the Polish Aide to the Governor comes in, he stands behind the others and does not speak. When he understands the full horror of the news, his eyes fill with tears.

By now the boats are at sea and searching over the

spot where the aircraft has disappeared. Gradually news filters through to the Tower . . . The pilot has been picked up alive but badly injured . . . Immediately there is an atmosphere of hope again; but soon the tragic report comes through that the great general has been discovered floating on the surface . . . dead. The airfield is still again, and in the Watch-Office the normal routine goes on. In a few minutes a message arrives from operations to say that the next machine to take off is cancelled. Another V. I. P. . . . It is said that this traveller is Mr. Maisky.

All night the search goes on, but only when day comes can divers get down to the machine and bring up the rest of the bodies. Altogether seventeen have died, including Sikorski's daughter, who, sadly enough, was not injured in the crash, for it was obvious that someone had been attempting to help her out of the bomb bay, where she was trapped by one foot . . . and drowned.

A few days after the accident, the Flying-Control Officer, during a rest-spell, went to the hospital to visit the Czech pilot of the Liberator. His visit was due partly

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HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ'S "BATTLE OF GRUNWALD"

DEATH OF THE GRAND MASTER



Teutonic banner captured by Poles at Grunwald.

oncoming Grand Master and recognized him by his mantle, his shield and the great gold reliquary he wore on his breast outside his armor. But the Polish knight dared not strike the reliquary with his lance, though he surpassed the Grand Master in strength. Ulrich, therefore, threw up the point of the knight's lance, wounded his horse, and then the two, circling around each other, each went to his own people.

"Germans! The Grand Master himself!" shouted Dobko.

When they heard this the Polish regiments rushed forward with great impetus to meet the enemy. Mikolai Kielbasa with his regiment was the first to make contact with them and again the battle raged.

But whether the knights from the province of Helmno, among whom were many of Polish blood, did not fight their hardest, or whether nothing could restrain the rage of the Poles, this new attack did not produce the effect the Grand Master had looked for. It had seemed to him that this would be the finishing blow to the power of Jagiello. Then he saw that it was the Poles who were pushing on, advancing, beating down, cleaving, gripping, as it were, his legions in an iron vice, that his knights were rather defending themselves than attacking. In vain did he urge them with his voice, in vain did he push them with his sword to the battle. They defended themselves, it is true, and defended themselves mightily, but there was not in them either the sweep or the fire that victorious armies have and with which Polish hearts were inflamed. In battered armor, in blood, in wounds, with dented weapons, their voices gone from their breasts, the Polish knights rushed on irresistibly to the densest throng of the Germans, as wolves rush at flocks of sheep; and the Germans began to restrain their horses, then to look around behind, as if wishing to learn whether the iron vise was not surrounding them more and more terribly, and they withdrew slowly, but continually, as if desiring to withdraw unobserved from the murderous arena.

But now from the direction of the forest new shouts sounded suddenly. This was Zyndram, who had led out and sent the country people to battle. Soon was heard the biting of scythes on iron and the hammering of flails on armor; bodies began to fall more and more thickly; blood flowed in a stream on the trampled earth; and the battle became like one immense flame, for the Germans, seeing salvation only in the sword, defended themselves desperately.

And both sides fought in that way, uncertain of success till huge clouds of dust rose all at once on the right

flank of the king's army.

"The Lithuanians are returning!" roared Polish voices in gladness.

The Lithuanians had rushed up, and such a chaos and such a seething began that the eye of man could distinguish nothing.

The Grand Master was struck in the mouth by the point of a Lithuanian lance and twice wounded in the face. He warded off blows for a time with his failing right hand, but his neck finally pierced by the thrust of a lance, he fell to the earth like an oak tree.

A crowd of warriors dressed in skins covered him completely.

The battle turned into a slaughter, and the rout of the Knights of the Cross was so complete that in all human history few defeats may be compared with it. Never in Christian times, from the days when the Romans struggled with the Goths, or with Attila, or Charles Martel with the Saracens, did armies fight with each other so mightily. But now, like reaped grain, the greater part of one of the two forces lay on the field. Those regiments which the Grand Master had led last to the battle surrendered. The Helmno men planted their flags on the ground. Other Knights sprang from their horses, in sign that they were willing to surrender, and knelt on the blood-covered earth. The entire regiment



Teutonic Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen. Detail from Matejko's *Battle of Grunwald*.



Collection of Warsaw National Museum

The Battle of Grunwald by Juliusz Kossak.

of St. George, in which foreign Knights served, also gave up their arms, as did its leader.

The battle became now a rout and a slaughter. Who so would not surrender perished. There were many battles and conflicts in the world during those centuries, but no man remembered a defeat so dreadful. Before the Polish King lay prostrate not only the Knights of the Cross, but all the most brilliant knighthood of Germany, the "Teutonic vanguard," that was eating more and more deeply into the Slav body. Of about seven hundred "white mantles," who led the Germanic onslaught there remained barely fifteen. More than forty thousand bodies (of the Knights of the Cross and retainers) lay on that blood-stained field in eternal sleep. The various banners which at noon that day had waved over the great army of the Knights of the Cross, had all fallen into the bloody and victorious hands of the Poles, — not a single banner was saved. The Polish and Lithuanian knights threw them down at the feet of Jagiello, who, raising his eyes to heaven, repeated with emotion —

"O God, Thou hast wished it thus!"

The Knights of the Cross and their entire army had ceased to exist.

THEN AS NOW!

"Under the blows of the Grunwald victors crashed the efforts of the Teutonic Knights to create on the Baltic a great German power and thus insure German hegemony over all Eastern Europe."

JAN DOMBROWSKI

Professor of Cracow University

MICKIEWICZ AND HIS AMERICAN FRIENDS

(Continued from page 7)

from the just published English edition of Emerson's *Essays*. And he quoted arguments from Emerson's lecture on *Man the Reformer* which backed up the basic dogma of Polish philosophy about the constant influence of the supernatural world on the visible world.

Emerson's writings accompanied Mickiewicz over a number of years. He quoted the American philosopher's opinions in his speeches at meetings of his Circle of Initiated Brethren, he translated into Polish excerpts from his books and distributed them among his friends, he translated into French and published in 1849 in his paper *La Tribune des Peuples*, *Man the Reformer* and he left in manuscript a translation of Emerson's dissertation on the meaning of history.

Despite this close spiritual bond and the great interest in Emerson shown by Mickiewicz, we have no evidence that there ever was any direct contact between them. Only once did Emerson mention Mickiewicz, briefly but pleasantly—in acknowledging the news Margaret Fuller sent him about her visit to Mickiewicz. Their ideological kinship and Mickiewicz's respect for Emerson became the basis for the friendship between Mickiewicz and Margaret Fuller.

Mickiewicz was drawn to Cooper above all by ideas of social progress and justice in human relations, to Emerson by philosophical ideology. Mickiewicz's friendship with Margaret Fuller was built on a rare mutual liking, on a harmony of views relating to social problems, and on an identity of philosophical background and metaphysical conceptions. This friendship found expression in disinterested cooperation and mutual assistance.

Born in 1810, Margaret Fuller stemmed from a Unitarian family long settled in New England. The first child of a lawyer and member of the House of Representatives who had great ambitions for her, this extraordinarily gifted girl received under his tutelage an exceptionally versatile education including Greek, Latin, French, German, natural science, even astronomy and philosophy. She was greatly influenced by the works of the medieval mystics Boehme, Swedenborg and by romantic poetry, especially that of Goethe.

After the death of her father, she turned to teaching to aid her younger brothers and sisters. Several years later, her lectures on timely social and artistic subjects assured her material well being and ever-growing fame.

Having come close to Emerson and his group of liberal New England young writers, poets and theologians who were known as Transcendentalists, Margaret Fuller played an important part among them and for two years edited their official organ, *The Dial*. It was in this publication that was first published in 1840 Emerson's lecture *Man the Reformer*, which influenced Mickiewicz so profoundly.

It was likewise in *The Dial* that Margaret Fuller published the first sketch of her famous book *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, in which she devoted many beautiful pages to Emilia Plater, Poland's Joan of Arc, whose heroic deeds she cites as an example of complete equality of women in all fields.

After writing several other books on philosophical, social and literary subjects, Margaret Fuller was for some years staff member and literary critic of the *New York Daily Tribune*. In 1846 she sailed with friends for an extended stay to Europe.

Margaret Fuller first met Mickiewicz in Paris shortly before her departure for Italy. She had heard much about him and knowing how highly Mickiewicz thought of Emerson, she sent him a new volume of Emerson's poetry by way of introduction.

Their meeting in 1847 was unusual and deeply stirring. Mickiewicz was then at the peak of his mystic exaltation. Margaret too, under the influence of recent painful experiences, had become more mystically inclined.

Mickiewicz's son, Władysław, writes about this initial meeting: "If Margaret Fuller was under the exceeding spell of the poet, he himself was astounded not only by her masculine erudition but by the depth of her ideas and the kinship of many beliefs with his own concepts."

Unquestionably during their first meeting among friends of Mickiewicz their conversation was on an extremely lofty plane and both were unusually frank. Mickiewicz, probably under the influence of Margaret's eloquent confession, spoke with such compelling power, opening her mind to such unlimited horizons, that she fell in a faint. In the letter Mickiewicz wrote her shortly after this meeting, he forecast for her in words filled with exaltation, a great role in the mission of ultimate liberation of women and the construction of a better world.

Margaret Fuller wrote to Emerson some time later: "I found in Mickiewicz the man I had long wished to see with the intellect and passions in due proportions for a full and healthy human being, with a soul constantly inspiring. How much time I wasted on others which I might have given to this real and important relation."

Forced to suit her plans to those of her traveling companions, Margaret Fuller left for Italy soon after this dramatic meeting. Mickiewicz did not urge her to stay. He was at that time extremely absorbed by his concrete preparation for Polish participation in the approaching revolutionary movements. Nor did he wish to postpone Margaret's departure as he believed that a stay in Italy was essential to restore her to health. Furthermore, he expected to see her in Rome soon, whither he intended to go to receive papal sanction for his plans. Because of the delay in his own departure for Italy, they struck up a correspondence which Harvard University Library has kindly permitted me to publish.

At first its main topic was Margaret's desire to get from Mickiewicz instructions as to the role assigned to her. Mickiewicz's replies did not fully satisfy her. The reason for this was that shortly after her departure from Paris Mickiewicz became less concerned with a search for spiritual perfection and happiness in the world above. In spite of this, and perhaps because of it, their correspondence is marked by a cordiality and frankness rarely encountered in the letters of Mickiewicz, who disliked to write letters and usually wrote them in a dry manner.

No doubt, their exchange of views created the basis for the cooperation which set in with Mickiewicz's arrival in Rome. Even though in the second half of 1847 Margaret Fuller found a husband in the person of an officer of the papal guard, the Marquis d'Ossoli—as progressive in his views as she was in hers—she did not give up her journalistic activity, nor abandon her contacts with those who were preparing political and social upheavals. How close was her cooperation with Mickiewicz is indicated by the fact that the Pole found time to say good-bye to her just before leaving Rome at the head of the first unit of the Polish Legion and that he wrote to her from every stage of the march across Italy. He reported to her on the reception accorded him in Italian cities, particularly in Florence, requested her cooperation, asked her to send the latest news, gave her friendly advice in her personal problems.

Margaret expressed profound sympathy with Mickiewicz's efforts in long articles to the *New York Daily*

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THE FAITH OF POLAND

by TRYPHOSA BATES-BATCHELLER

ACROSS the history of the great country of Poland, there is one quality that stands out most prominently in the character of every Pole—faith: faith in the ultimate triumph of the liberty of his beloved land.

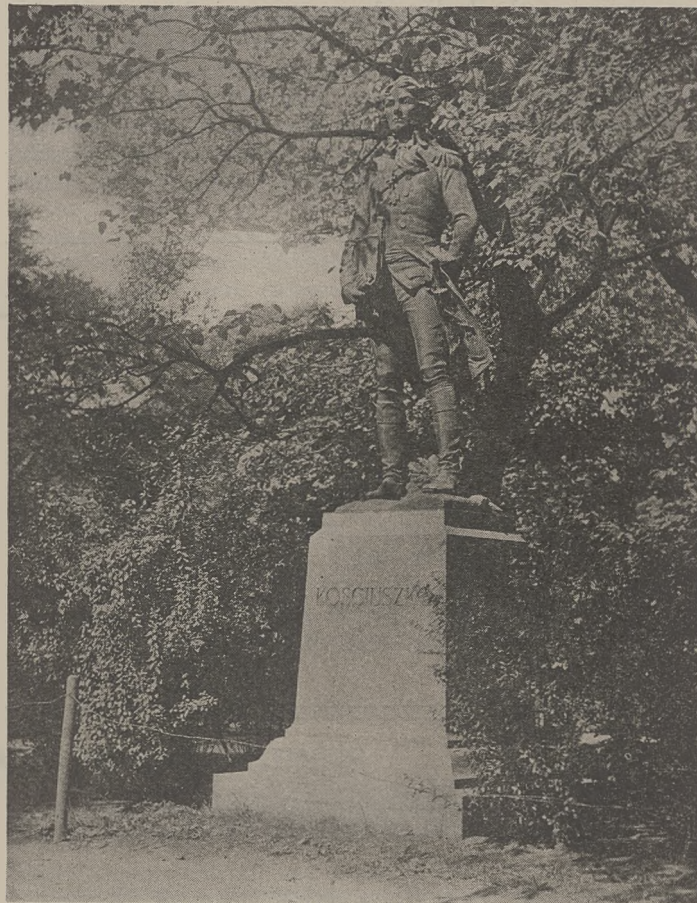
No one of the many heroes and statesmen of Poland has shown this unswerving faith in his country's destiny and final victory in the face of all odds, more than General Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura Kosciuszko, soldier, engineer, statesman, and, even, almost against his will, dictator for a time of his country's fortunes. Never throughout the vicissitudes of his country, even when fighting against great odds, did he fail to believe in God's promise "By thy faith thou shalt be made whole." "All things are possible to God."

In the lovely public gardens of Boston, Massachusetts, there stand near to each other two fine statues, each proclaiming the same eternal sentiment, the same high aim of faith in God, the same love of that which brings all thinking souls together — liberty. These statues are placed amidst the flowers and greensward of good Boston from whence have come so many of the great, the true patriots of America. It is fitting and natural that these monuments should be close together, for they tell the story of two great men who fought and labored, each in his own way, in his own generation, for the eternal cause of freedom. The statue of Wendell Phillips bespeaks that patriot's faith and belief in the liberty of all men, and though in a different way, in a different time Wendell Phillips fought for the liberty of the slaves, the great principle was the same that brought Kosciuszko to America in 1776 to aid the young American nation in its struggle against oppression.

Although not of the highest nobility, the forebears of Kosciuszko, while not rich, were among the most ancient and excellent of the noble Lithuanian families, and in any country where the desire for higher ideals and aims is uppermost in the minds of the majority, the blood of all the people becomes ennobled and these ideals receive the highest of sacrifices, for the people are willing to give even life itself. Such a country Poland has always been. Such a country it will always remain. Such a country is our own America. Such a country it will always be.

Born in 1746, Kosciuszko's brilliant mind and successful studies of the military art attracted the attention of Prince Adam Czartoryski, who, perceiving his talents, made him a Second Lieutenant in the Corps of Cadets and sent him, at his own expense, to France, later to Germany and Italy, to study engineering and military art. It is not surprising, therefore, that after receiving unjust, indeed cruel treatment from the rich, overproud Hetman Sosnowski, to whose daughter Kosciuszko had lost his heart, he decided, on seeing her married to Prince Lubomirski, to forget his own heart sorrow and give his best energies to the hearts of a young people fighting for that which he really most loved, Liberty.

Kosciuszko arrived in America in 1776 and entered the American Army. George Washington was quick to recognize his great quality of sincerity as well as his abilities as an engineer and as a leader of men. With the exception of Lafayette, he was the only foreigner to be made an adjutant of Washington, who promoted him to be a Colonel of Artillery, and, at the end of the War, when Washington founded the Order of the Cincinnati for his officers of the line, Kosciuszko and Lafayette were the only foreign members included in that Order, which today is still regarded as one of the most important of the American patriotic societies.



Monument of Tadeusz Kosciuszko in the Public Gardens of Boston, Massachusetts. The inscription reads: "General Tadeusz Kosciuszko, champion of Liberty and the rights of man. Erected by the Polish people of New England to commemorate the 150th anniversary of his arrival in America, to enlist in the cause of Liberty."

In 1783 Kosciuszko was rewarded for his services and his devotion to the cause of American independence with the thanks of Congress, the privilege of American citizenship, a considerable annual pension with landed estates, and the rank of Brigadier General, which he retained later even in the service of Poland.

The story of his many battles against great odds at Dubienka and Raclawice and many others; of his continued struggle against Poland's enemies, in spite of Prussian treachery in 1792; of his return to America in 1796 after another desperate disappointment in love; of his interest in our budding military academy of West Point, where a monument was erected in 1828 to his memory, is known to all American school children. So also is known to us all his never failing faith, despite imprisonment by Catherine of Russia after being seriously wounded in battle; the honors bestowed upon him later by the Russian Emperor Alexander who endeavored to persuade him to accept a command in the Russian Army without success; and the effort made by Napoleon to offer similar commands in the French Army and to give similar honors from France, also rejected by Kosciuszko. He once exclaimed "If I am not fighting for Poland, I no longer need a sword since I have no longer a country."

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THE FAITH OF POLAND

(Continued from page 13)

To the day of his death, never again did he wear a sword, but on his arrival in France in 1798, his countrymen serving in the Italian Army, presented him with the sword of John Sobieski which had been found at Loretto.

An Englishman who saw Kosciuszko in 1797 says "I never contemplated a more interesting human figure than Kosciuszko stretched on his couch. His wounds were still unhealed and he was unable to sit upright. Contrasted with the brightness of his eyes and the flame

of patriotism which still burned within his soul, was the paleness of his countenance and the wan cast of every feature." As this English gentleman departed, Kosciuszko said "He who devotes himself to his country must not look for his reward on this side of the grave."

We, who are now a part of One World, must keep *our faith* in liberty and the peace that the victory for liberty has won, as *firm* and as *true* as that of the great Polish patriot; and we must say with Wendell Phillips, as is written on his statue in Boston, "Whether in chains or in laurels, Liberty knows nothing but victories."

DEATH OF A HERO

(Continued from page 9)

to sympathy for another airman, and, it must be confessed, partly to a natural curiosity.

The two aviators talked together as such persons will, and inevitably, in the end, the fatal question was asked.

"Have you any idea what happened?"

The Czech nodded his head.

"Yes, I think I know all right. In a Liberator there is a lever for locking the controls, used when parking and taxiing. My second pilot was entirely new to this type

of machine, and, as is generally the case, imagined that it was *his* duty to raise the undercarriage; whereas, in actual fact, it was mine. Mechanically, on taking off, I did so, and equally mechanically he reached for the handle to do the same, clutching instead the control-locking lever. I was airborne in a normal manner, levelled off at 30 feet as usual, *and then everything went solid*. If I had had five hundred feet or so it would have been all right, for there would have been plenty of time for a 'cock-pit' check . . . As it was, I just had a second in which to call, 'crash positions,' and we hit the sea."

THE RUSSIAN SAMOVAR

(Continued from page 5)

the shaft-bow and little bells on the harness itself, while on the coach-box there sits a retired *denshchik* (batman) in a Tver-styled *shlyk* (cap) with peacock feathers and he begins humming: *Nie odnu vo polie dorozhenku*⁽⁴⁾—then that will be not Lithuania, and not Great Poland, but Russia. Our fellow-believers, the rural populace, when they hear the puffing of our merry pot-bellied Tula samovars and smell the "smoke of the fatherland" drifting up from them, will understand at once that here is their true master, while the Poles will see that it is no joke, and not robbery and treachery, as they term our present military occupation, but a peaceful economic penetration for all time, and this business of insurrections will be done with."

"Lakhtin exclaimed: 'Splendid!'

"You approve?"

"Splendid, Ivan Fomich, splendid . . ."

Now, I think that Leskov, if not Sambursky, had in mind the following argument of Pushkin in his *Journey to Erzurum*:

"The Circassians hate us. We have crowded them out of their fertile pastures; their *auls* are ruined, entire tribes annihilated. Hour by hour they bury themselves deeper in the mountains from which they carry out their raids. The friendship of the *peaceful* Circassians is unreliable: they are ever ready to abet their turbulent fellow-tribesmen. The spirit of their savage chivalry has perceptibly declined. They attack the Cossacks rarely, and the infantry never, in equal number, and run off when they espy a cannon. On the other hand, they never miss an opportunity to fall upon a weak patrol or an unarmed man. There is almost no way to pacify them until they are disarmed as the Tartars of the Crimea were disarmed, which is a very difficult undertaking by reason of the hereditary feuds and blood-revenges that prevail among

them. The dagger and sabre are limbs of their bodies, and the youngster begins to handle them before he lisps forth his first words. With them murder is a simple bodily reflex. They keep their captives in the hope of obtaining ransom but treat them with inhuman cruelty, force them to toil beyond the limits of their strength, feed them on raw dough, beat them when the thought occurs to them, and entrust them to be guarded by the children, who have the right at a word to chop them up with their infantile sabres. Not long ago a peaceable Circassian was captured, having shot at a soldier. He justified his conduct by saying that his gun had been loaded too long. What can we do with such a people? It must be hoped, however, that the acquisition of the eastern shore of the Black Sea will, by cutting off the Circassians from commerce with Turkey, compel them to a rapprochement with us. The influence of worldly comforts may help to tame them: *the samovar would be an important innovation . . .*"

To this Pushkin adds some considerations on the subject of the efficacy of Christian propaganda performed by Catholic missionaries in Africa, Asia, and America, and lamentations that the Russian Orthodox Church has not set itself to making similar propaganda. . . .

Leskov could not recommend this last implement when the question concerned the "pacification" of Poland, Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia. He chose the *samovar*—that samovar about which Pushkin had done no more than murmur . . . Furthermore, with Pushkin it is Circassian savages—with Leskov, Lithuanians, White Russians, Ukrainians, Poles; with Pushkin, civilization—with Leskov, Russification. Did Stalin ever read Leskov? Alphonse Karr said: "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose . . . Messieurs les assassins . . ."

(4) A Russian popular song.

THE POLISH PROBLEM

(Continued from page 4)

intervention of the capitalist powers in her first, heroic period, but this struggle was imposed upon her, it was not of her own choosing. Immediately afterwards, Russia worked hand in hand with the German militarists and concluded an alliance with a revanche-minded Germany. She also collaborated with Japan and again with Germany in the years 1939-41. To-day, Russia's foreign policy is pure and undiluted imperialism, no different from that of Peter and Catherine. Russia allies herself to every nationalist movement, be it the most reactionary, which threatens the cohesion of existing political entities. She reawakens, wherever she can, the slumbering separatist tendencies and the racial hatreds which were slowly dying out. She hampers the setting up and the progress of international institutions which are to knit nations closer together.

The future forms of the world will, however, be drawn by the Western Powers, not by Russia. It is these nations which are truly "fighting reaction," because in spite of the difficulties raised by Russia they are trying to establish a new world order based on a common basis of right and justice. These efforts are not free from hesitation, muddle and even hypocrisy. Nevertheless their trend and ultimate goal are clear enough. Liberal capitalist America and semi-socialist Britain and Western continental Europe share the same liberal and progressive ideals. The Soviet machine still lives in the world of

ideals and concepts of the defeated Third Reich.

Soviet propaganda in Poland spreads a gospel of hatred of the Western world. It constantly harps on the "betrayal of Poland by her allies," and adds that she was ruthlessly taken advantage of, and then abandoned when she was no longer needed. These gross and false oversimplifications are not, however, accepted uncritically by the Poles. They are fully aware that it would be pure folly to "punish" those British and American statesmen whose mistakes are partly responsible for the present plight of Poland by throwing themselves into the arms of the Soviet Union, just to annoy the English-speaking Powers.

During the years of world reconstruction, which period will be longer than expected, Poland must maintain her links with the West at any cost. Britain, France and the U. S. A. will be able to influence her destiny, no less than her immediate neighbor, if only Poland succeeds in maintaining her traditional links with them. The great nations of the West, who for so long have been living in material and spiritual progress, ought to realize the strong bonds which link their own fate to that of weaker nations, oppressed and enslaved. They are in a position to appreciate full well the value of the international appeal of such principles as the brotherhood of nations, and freedom and equality for all. Mankind will know no peace as long as even one country will be subjugated by another, as long as oppression is endorsed or only tolerated in international relations.

MICKIEWICZ AND HIS AMERICAN FRIENDS

(Continued from page 12)

Tribune in which she presented in great detail the noble slogans of the Mickiewicz Legion, his proclamation of full equality and respect for the rights of every citizen as well as of the freedom of all oppressed nations, so reminiscent of the Atlantic Charter.

A year's interruption occurred as the result of Mickiewicz's departure for Paris in the end of June, 1848. The revolutionary outbursts in France and Italy made correspondence difficult, but the contact of minds was preserved. Mickiewicz could not accept the invitation to be godfather of the Ossolis' son born in September, but Margaret continued to give proof of her friendship for him and for Poland, in her letters and articles to the *Tribune*.

When, after the failure of the Roman revolution in July 1849, she succeeded in informing Mickiewicz about her experiences and plans, he replied with a very cordial

letter and made her an offer of collaboration in the *Tribune des Peuples*, then edited by him in Paris but soon thereafter suspended.

Their friendship came to a tragic end, when in July 1850, on her way back to her own country, her husband and child lost their lives during a violent storm off the shores of the United States.

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